

600 /120 cont. /

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively

[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166

352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made

[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which

● [353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind

[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-

[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez

[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds

[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and

362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-

132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind

from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up

462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down

[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going

[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of

the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,

[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have

the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes

[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the

men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont. /

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same
[286] knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka)
are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller
hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the
floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one
meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todśá 'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (hič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives,
needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands
only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person
has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, [415] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of [412] clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one. [263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a [353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

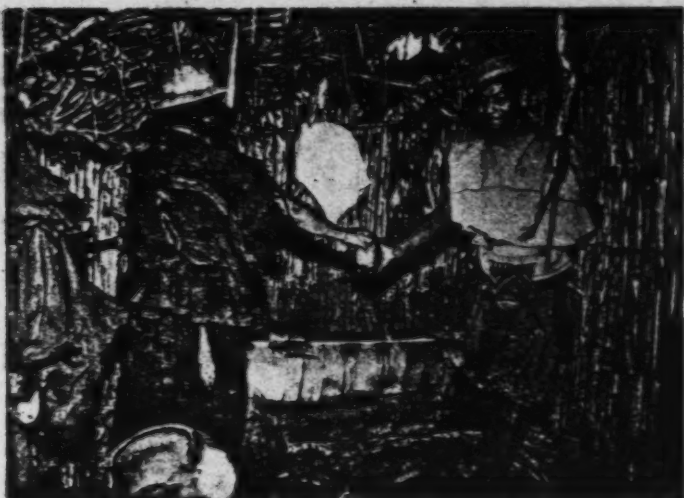
252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and [415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/

c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

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III. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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III. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

PITTIER]

NOTES ON PAEZ INDIANS

319

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. [342
[177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. [361
They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatched-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajarque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. [342
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[354]
[356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. [352
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Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv, v, and vi).² [407
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There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [415
[42]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. [351
[592]
[247]

¹ [See plate facing p. 317 - Analst]

² [See plate facing p. 320 - Analst]

/185 cont./

342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not
unknown.



342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
●353 floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches
23/ suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grind-
ing stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately
with the guinea pigs.

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

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Foresight and storage

477 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
● 353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
 ● 353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
 251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient,
 but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
 [244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and
 Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call juca de pijao. It
 [464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that
 want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of
 the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They
 utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José,
 where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds
 under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain
 hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from
 the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent
 quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
 273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
 276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
 [771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
 [464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
 [465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during
 a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed
 for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result,
 water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This
 geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to
 their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are
 true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or
 the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
 [777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has
 been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the
 high parts on both margins of the Paex River are bare of vegetation,

Vol. 21 HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 939

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] • [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "miste." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (aji) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring Pijao. Sometimes he permitted other Páez to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each Páez and Moguer family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

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[177]

Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

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The modern *Moguez* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

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The *Pdez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall. Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

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In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

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Each *Pdez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

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The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Pdez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed